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II-B The Communist Party of Brazil Revises
and Develops Its Current Program for the Overthrow
of the Present Government of Brazil on the Basis of
CPSU Guidance and Approval. Other Communist
Parties in Latin America Recognize Authoritative Character
of That Program as a Model for Revision of Their
Own Respective Programs.

1-a.

SUMMARY
Abstract 1.

Programmatic document of CP/Brazil, issued August 1950, is challenged within Party as to the practical effectiveness of strategy and tactics outlined therein. Pravda (26 March 1952) gives clue to ~~early~~ trend toward ~~revision of CP/Brazil~~ formulation of new Program for CP/Brazil. Following attendance of two CP/Brazil leaders at XIX Congress of CPSU (October, 1952), CPSU organ (Kommunist, December, 1952) sets forth basic principles of new Program ~~for CP/Brazil~~ of CP/Brazil. In December 1953, CP/Brazil completes draft of new Program, and begins circulation same in January 1954. Reflects basic new features brought out by ~~CP~~ Pravda and Kommunist. Cominform journal gives approving attention and extensive circulation to Program, 1954-55. CPSU message to IV Congress of CP/Brazil, November 1954, endorses Program. Other Communist Parties in Latin America Recognize CPSU-Cominform stamp of approval on Program, and take steps toward formulation new Program, modelled after CP/Brazil Program, ~~for respective countries~~, 1954-55.

3. ~~4~~The "August Manifesto" of CP/Brazil (1950)

In August 1950 CP/Brazil

published a Manifesto which served as a basic

programmatic document of the Party for several

years. Serious misgivings as to the practical

^{effectiveness}
~~effectiveness~~ of the strategy and tacticsoutlined in the Manifesto were evident withinthe Party ^{during} 1950, 1951, and Early 1952. ^{in some sectors}the Manifesto's line was "sectarian": its^{"ultra-left"}~~exclusive~~ demands alienated sectors of thepopulation ~~who were~~ with ~~whom~~ which an alliancewas essential to accomplishment of the Manifesto'srevolutionary goal: overthrow of the ~~1950~~ Governmentof Brazil.

2. "Pravda", March 1952, Gives Clue to Revision of Program
~~Article~~ of CP Brazil

Pravda of 26 March 1952, ~~for~~ gave
 an early clue to the initiation of a trend toward
Revision of CP Brazil's program strategy and
tactics. Commemorating the ~~the~~ Thirtieth
anniversary of the founding of CP Brazil, A. Sivolobov.
~~Sivolobov~~ commented on certain programmatic points
 with respect to ^{that Party.} ~~CP Brazil~~ Although he cited the
 1950 Manifesto as ^{the program of CP Brazil,} ~~the program~~ The points
 programmatic points he made were actually new, i.e.,
 they differed in their formulation from that of the
Manifesto. The ~~concentrated~~ ^{new} tactic of fully
concentrating fire on "American imperialism"

5. ~~the~~

as the principal enemy of the
 Brazilian people, and the new tactic
 of increasing facilitating an alliance with
~~Native capitalists~~ the national bourgeoisie ^{coisla}

~~Native industrialists and business (native capitalists)~~

by threatening confiscation of only "American
 monopolies," are clearly indicated by

✓ Sirolob_{ov.} ~~Exhibit~~ (Exhibit #: II-B-1, pp. 3-4.)

~~_____~~
3. CP Brazil Leaders Attend ~~the~~ XIX Congress of CPSU, ^{Moscow} October 1952.
~~Later the same year,~~ Two members

of the Central Committee of CP Brazil
attended the ~~the~~ XIX Congress of the
CPSU in Moscow (5-12 October, 1952),
according to Pravda of 8 October 1952.

One of these was Diogenes Arruda Camara,
^{second-}~~3rd~~ ranking leader of CP Brazil, and an
outstanding figure in the ^{propagation} ~~the~~ of the
current Program of that Party.

4 CPSU Organ Kommunist, ^{Authentically} Presents Essential Elements of New Program ~~for~~ for CP Brazil.

In December 1952, The ^{essential} elements of a new Program - new strategy and tactics - ~~for~~ CP Brazil were set forth in an article in the CPSU journal,

✓ Kommunist, #22. (Exhibit II-B-2). This article, entitled "The Struggle of the Workers of Brazil for ~~the~~ National Independence and for Peace Against the Imperialistic ~~Yoke~~ Yoke of the ~~U.S.A.~~ U.S.A.," bore the name of "Andre Silva Paraguassu" as its author. Diogenes Arruda Camara has used ~~this alias~~ "Paraguassu" as a pseudonym for illegal work in the past.

Programmatic features of the Kommunist
article are summarized:

a. The United States is the
principal enemy of the Brazilian
people. "American imperialism" dominates
the economic and political life of Brazil
- its partial colony. It is the property of
the American capitalists - not that of all capitalists -
which should be seized in Brazil.

b. The Brazilian Government is a servile
tool of "American imperialism," and ~~that~~ ^{Gov't} ~~regime~~
must be liquidated by revolutionary
struggle.

"Democratic Front of National Liberation"

c. Essential to that struggle is the
alliance in a broad front ~~under the leadership of the Communist Party,~~
not only the workers, peasants and urban
petty bourgeoisie, but also the native
capitalists ~~and businessmen~~ - industrialists
and business men who are not linked with
"American imperialism" and who hate its
competition.

d. ~~This~~ This Front should struggle for the
formation of a people's democratic gov't."

The fact that this article sets forth a new Program for CP Brazil is indicated by ~~another~~ statements in ~~the~~ ^{another} ~~7 May 1954~~ issue of Kommunist (#7, 7 May 1954),

(Exhibit II-B-3): Criticizing a Soviet author who, in 1953, continued to cite the 1950 Manifesto as the current ~~program~~

~~"I. M. Danilov"~~
Program of CP Brazil:

"The basic demands of the minimum program of the Brazilian Communist Party were well known to the Soviet reader long before the publication of the reviewed book (see the article by Andre Silva Paraguaçu, 'The Struggle of the Toilers of Brazil for National Independence and for Peace against the Imperialist Yoke of the US,' Kommunist, No. 22, 1952). The program demands the confiscation of the property of US monopolies and of the large landowners. The distribution without cost of land to the Toilers of the villages, and the establishment of a People's democratic government. The creation of a

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broad democratic front of national
liberation is ^{an} essential precondition for the
achievement of these objectives. ... "Exhibit
II-B-3, p. 11 (Emphasis added)
(Exhibit #: II-B-3, p. 11)

which follows "Pravda" and "Kommunistische"

5. ~~Approved~~ Draft Program of CP Brazil
Approved ~~by~~ Central Committee of CP
Brazil, December 1953, ~~and~~ and Published
in January 1954.

In December, 1953 a Plenary
Meeting of the Central Committee of CP
Brazil ~~approved~~ the draft of a new
Program for the Party, and in January
1954 the Program was published in the
CP Brazil Press. It follows the essential line
laid down in "Pravda", 26 March 1952, and "Kommunist", December 1952.

The Cominform journal of
15 January 1954 (~~Exhibit 78-3~~) ~~carries~~ carries
an article on the issuance of the ^(Draft) Program.
Naming the CP Brazil organ, Imprensa
Popular, as its source, the journal ~~the~~
cites declarations of
CP Brazil leader, Luis Carlos
Prester which identify
"American imperialism as the enemy."

"... He pointed out that the draft programme signified a new phase in the development of the Brazilian Communist Party. It shows the ~~people~~ Brazilian people the way to save the nation from the yoke of American imperialism, the only way the people can achieve peace, bread, land, and freedom, and a prosperous, happy life."

(Exhibit # ^{II-B-4,} ~~4~~ p. 5, col. 6)

The journal ~~itself~~ pointed out ~~that~~ that the Program called for a "national-liberation revolution," and indicated the strong anti-U.S. features of the Program:

"In particular, in the realm of foreign policy and defence of national independence, the draft programme calls for the annulment of all the agreements and treaties ~~which~~ concluded with the U.S.A.,

✓ which are detrimental to national interests, and the confiscation of all capital and enterprises owned by the American monopolies that rule the roost in Brazil; it demands the expulsion of all US military, 'cultural', economic and technical missions from the country; the establishment of friendly & peaceful ~~cooper~~ co-operation with all ~~the~~ countries and the adoption of measures aimed at preserving peace & banning war propaganda. " (Emphasis added.)
(Exhibit # I-B-4, p. 5, cols. 5-6)

14.

6. Cominform ~~Journal~~ Approval of CP
Brazil Program Evidenced by Outstanding Attention
and Extensive Distribution Given to It,
1954-1955. CPSU Endorses CP Brazil

Program Adopted at TV Congress, November 1954.
CP Brazil declares "unflinching loyalty" and "boundless devotion" to CPSU, and
expresses thanks for CPSU teachings. How non-Cominform-member Communist
Parties, and no other Communist Parties in
Latin America, have ever seen their ^{respective} programs
given as much continuing, approving attention as
that given to the CP Brazil Program in
the Cominform press:

✓ a. ~~coll.~~ The full text of the draft Program of CP Brazil was set forth in $1\frac{2}{3}$ pages of the 4-page issue of the journal of 26 February 1954. (Exhibit # II-B-5, pp. 3-4.)

b. ~~The~~ The CP Brazil Program was given special mention in the 11 June 1954 issue of the journal. (Exhibit # II-B-6, p. 1, ed. 2, para. 5)

"Overcoming brutal repression, the Communist and Workers' Parties in Spain, Greece and the Countries of Latin America are organizing the struggle of all patriots in order to put an end to the subjugation of their countries to the DICTAT of the American monopolies which have become the mainstay of the worst Regimes of dictatorship, oppression and terror. The draft programme of the Communist Party of Brazil emphasises that a broad and powerful united front of all anti-imperialist and antifascist forces is the sole force capable of rescuing Brazil from American domination and her

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present humiliating situation, and
of leading her towards a bright
and happy future.

~~(Exhibit # II-B-6, p. 1, col. 2)~~

~~(para. 5)~~

~~[FLB, 11 June 1954]~~

C. The impending Fourth Congress of CP
Brazil, ~~was~~ at which the draft Program
was to be ^{adopted} ~~approved~~, was announced in the
18 June 1954 issue of the journal.

(Exhibit #: II-B-7, p. 4, Col. 1-3.)

The 10 December 1954 issue of the journal
carried an article on the Fourth Congress of
CP Brazil held 7-11 November 1954
"in underground conditions." ~~The article, the~~
~~message of the CPSU to the~~
~~Fourth Congress, is set forth in~~
~~CPSU wishes CP Brazil success in rallying the~~
~~masses for carrying out the tasks laid down by~~
~~the Party in its new Program~~

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~~pages~~ tribute to CP Brazil for "tirelessly exposing the ~~the~~ aggressive plans of U.S. imperialism." It wishes CP Brazil success in the fight for "Training Party members in the spirit of loyalty to the great cause of Communism, for strengthening Party ranks and rallying the broad masses of the working people of Brazil for carrying out the tasks laid down in its new Programme." (Emphasis added.)
(Exhibit #: II-B-8, p. 3, cols. 1-2.)

A Among the tasks of that Program ~~and~~ described in the same article, are:

- 1) "concentrating the main blow at American imperialism ~~and~~..."
- 2) formation of a "democratic front of national liberation & the social forces which ~~is~~ to lead the ~~the~~ revolution in Brazil
- 3) organization of a struggle for "exposing and overthrowing the government" of Brazil as an instrument of the United States.

(Exhibit #: II-B-8, p. 3, cols. 1-2.)

Steno:

*(There are no pages
18-19 - I reduced
text.)*

~~The Constitution, against fascist terror,
for exposing and overthrowing
the government of the latifundists and
big capitalists in the service of the
United States.~~ (Emphasis added.)

~~(Exhibit #: II-B-8, p. 3, col. 12)~~

The same article cited a message sent by
~~by the Central Committee to CPB~~
CP Brazil to the CPSU in response to the
~~above cited CPSU message~~ giving assurance of CP Brazil's
unflinching loyalty and boundless devotion to CPSU, and expressing

Thanks for
CPSU's teachings

"Amidst thunderous applause, the Congress sent a message to the C.C. of the CPSU stating that the Communists of Brazil at their ~~fourth~~ Fourth Congress enthusiastically received the greetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which provided them with a new and powerful stimulus in their struggle for peace, freedom and national independence.

"The message emphasizes that the Fourth Congress of the CPB, reflecting the unanimous will of all Communists in Brazil once again expresses its gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union for its fraternal friendship
and gives assurances of its
unflinching loyalty and boundless
devotion." (Emphasis added.)

(Exhibit #: II-B-8, p. 16, col. 2)

With ^{further} reference to the ~~for~~ ~~document~~ CP
Brazil message to CPSU, (cited immediately above),
it may be noted that the full text thereof,
set forth in the 27 November 1954 issue of
CP Brazil organ, ~~Tempestade~~ ~~Voz~~ ~~Periferia~~
contains the following points:

CP Brazil:

1) ~~CP Brazil~~ ^{expressed} to CPSU
"confidence and profound admiration
and affection."

2) ~~Stated~~ ^{that} ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~Brazilian~~ ~~people~~
~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~of~~ ~~freedom~~ ~~is~~ ~~both~~ ~~hope~~
~~and~~ ~~life.~~"

CP Brazil:

1) ~~Admitted~~ ^{Admitted} ~~that~~ ^{that} millions of Brazilians
support the ^{watchword} ~~position~~ ~~statement~~ of CP Brazil: "The
Brazilian people will never participate in
a war against the Soviet Union!"

2) ~~Admitted~~ ^{Admitted} ~~that~~ ^{that} the ^{formulation} ~~elaboration~~ of a
document of the scope of the program

was possible only because CP Brazil always remains "completely faithful to the immortal doctrine of MARX, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, to the international Communist movement and to its inspirer and guide, the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union." (Emphasis added)

~~2) I give thanks deep deep-felt thanks to CPSU for its "teachings."~~

3) ~~I~~ I give deep-felt thanks for "the teachings of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its wise Central Committee." (Emphasis added.)

~~I~~ Declared that CP Brazil's ^{revision of} ~~its Statute~~ at the Tenth Congress was based on ~~Leninist~~ "Leninist principles of organization, on the rich experience summarized by the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by the Statute of the latter's new Statute."

4) ~~I~~ Pledged ~~to~~ that it would ~~spare~~ spare no efforts in ~~the~~ bolshevizing CP Brazil, "in order to mold it in the image and likeness of the Party of Lenin and Stalin." (Emphasis)

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added!

(Exhibit # II-B-9, p. 16, cds. 1-6)

~~in Parsons' Report of the Central Committee~~

During 1955 the Cominform journal
has continued to give special attention the
the Program of CP Brazil.

(Exhibit # II-B-10, p. 5.)

(Exhibit # II-B-11, p. 3)

(Exhibit # II-B-12, p. 3)

Steno:

[There are no pages
24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29

[Reduced Text.]

7. Communist Parties in Latin America
Recognize the Authoritative Stamp of
Approval of CPSU-Cominform on the
CP Brazil Program, and Take Action toward
Reformulation of Their Respective Programs along
Same Basic Lines.

Communist Parties in Latin America quickly recognized the authoritative stamp of approval of CPSU-Cominform on ~~the~~ the Program of CP Brazil, as clearly evidenced by the treatment given it in the Cominform journal and by the message of CPSU to the IV Congress of CP Brazil.

The following Latin American Communist Parties, among others in that area, have taken steps toward the formulation of

a new program, adapted to local, national

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Conditions but reflecting ~~the same~~ programmatic, strategic and tactical principles ~~as those~~ which are in essence the same as those of the new CP Brazil Program. These Parties have taken the above-mentioned programmatic action following ~~since~~ the extensive circulation and endorsement of the Program of CP Brazil initiated in ~~the~~ ^{January} 1954 in the Cominform journal:

Communist Party of Colombia

Communist Party of Costa Rica
("Partido Vanguardia Popular")

Communist Party of Ecuador

Communist Party of Mexico

Communist Party of Uruguay

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a. Communist Party of Colombia

In August 1954 the ~~PL~~ ~~XXVII~~
Plenum of the Central Committee of CP Colombia
made preparations for the Party's VIII Congress in 1955,
at which the Party's new draft program would
be discussed. The draft reflects the essential features of the CP Brazil program.
(Exhibit #: II-B-13, p. 2, cols. 5-6)

In November 1954, Gilberto Vieira,
Secretary General of CP Colombia, sent a message
to CP Brazil:

"... The conclusions of the IV Congress of the
Communist Party of Brazil will be particularly
important for the Communist and democratic
parties of Latin America, and, in a special way,
for the Communist Party of Colombia ..."

"... The Program of the Communist Party of Brazil
is already a fundamental document which contributes
tremendously to the correct application of Marxist-
Leninist principles in the special conditions of the
Latin American countries." (Emphasis added.)

(Exhibit #: II-B-14, p. 2, col. 6)

MISSING PAGE

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT MISSING PAGE(S):

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35.

b. Communist Party of Venezuela

The ~~CP~~ underground Communist Party of Venezuela has paid an outstanding tribute to CP Brazil's Program: at ~~the~~ considerable expense and effort, it has ^{and circulated in the Caribbean area} ~~reprinted~~ reprinted the entire Program ^(as approved at the IV Congress) together with Prestes' Report ~~to the~~ of the Central Committee ~~of CP Brazil~~ to ^{that} Congress. Along with these texts, printed in a ^{special} supplement to the February-March 1955 issue of CP Venezuela's clandestine publication, "Noticias de Venezuela," ^{the Venezuelan Communist makes} the following statements ^{which} ~~clearly~~ indicates clearly the "model"

Role of that Program for Latin American Communist

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Parties:

"The Program of the Communist Party of Brazil — which we publish today — succeeds in ~~fixing~~ determining precisely, in a new and comprehensive form for the concrete case proper to its own country the road of the revolution. It represents the beginning of a new stage in the constructive application of MARXISM to the reality of an American country. ~~It~~ ... ^① ← represents a point of maturity which has been reached thanks to the dauntless struggle of the Party and the people, and thanks to the scientific and revolutionary study of Brazilian reality on the basis of the method and doctrine of Marx and Engels, of Lenin and of Stalin."

After stressing ~~the~~ the point that each ^(Revolutionary) country ~~must~~ has its own road, chosen on the basis of local conditions, the Party

Venezuelan Communists ^{Go on to emphasize} how much

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The countries of Latin America have in
common with respect to their major
 problems and their ^{great} common enemy - Yankee imperialism
 and how much can be learned from C.P. Brazil's Program:

~~"Whatever the differences, ^{quotes} whatever the national peculiarities, it is certain that ^{quotes} we have much in common. ... The documents of C.P. Brazil tell us of the breadth of the national liberation front of its country, and the strategy and tactics which will carry the Brazilian people to victory. The documents tell us how criticism and self-criticism of errors committed in the revolutionary struggle should be understood and practiced, apart from all foolish, petty-bourgeois unity."~~

"This is a living and useful document lesson for our peoples. The similarity of the problems for which a correct solution is presented here, can be useful to us in finding in each case our own road, which is determined by the reality of each country...."

~~There is no release we can take advantage,~~

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~~This program is as important as the program for Venezuela or any other nation, of the Revolutionary experience of Brazil - of which the program is the ripe fruit - in the same way that, as this program demonstrates, CP Brazil has known how to take advantage, in a creative manner, of the formidable, uplifting experience of the people who have already liberated themselves from imperialism... and who are already building a new life."~~

→ (Exhibit #: II-B-¹⁵~~16~~, p.2)

Steno: